Tadjik

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies
131 close to the point where the Chinese,
Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed
[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.
197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early
174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200–400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. T'ang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with
• [779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the T'ang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now
779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite
241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.
311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and
161

[p. 138]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

* 563 174 167 come to live there in modern times divide sharply along provincial lines closely related to political history.

Hunanese and men from the lower Yangtze Valley have long * 563 formed the bureaucratic elite; Tientsin men hold the strongest position in trade; Shansi men control the camel caravans carrying goods across Mongolia between Sinkiang and North China, and Kansu Province has been the principal source of farming colonists.

* 563 167 When Tso Tsung-t'ang, a Hunanese general who had served under the Manchus against the Taiping rebels, undertook the task of suppressing the Moslem revolts, the army he commanded was composed largely of Hunanese. Many of them remained in Sinkiang after the completion of the campaign. Some became landowners and officials in the Provincial Government, in which they long exercised such a dominating influence that Sinkiang was called a "Hunanese colony."

Tso's expeditionary force was accompanied by large numbers of Tientsin merchants who sold to the army en route and then settled down in Sinkiang. They were later joined by their families, many of which brought more goods along with them, so that Tientsin traders soon appeared throughout the urban centers of the province.

During the rule of Yang Tseng-hsin, who remained as Governor of the Province after the Revolution of 1911, a number of fellow provincials from Yünnan came to take advantage of his position in the province. A few Kansu Chinese came in during the ascendancy of Chin Shu-jen. Later some 10,000 Chinese troops from Manchuria, interned in Siberia when they had retreated after fighting against the Japanese, were "repatriated" by the Soviet Union to Sinkiang after Sheng Shih-ts'ai, a native of Manchuria, became Governor of Sinkiang. Still later refugees from the Honan famine of 1944 were transported into the province by the Central Government authorities to take up land ex- * 563 propriated from Kazakhs.

• 779 167 In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese, other groups, distinguished from the main body by their adherence to the Mos-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Chinese

lem faith, have also settled down in Sinkiang. Many were first placed in Sinkiang by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung after he had crushed the Jungar Mongols in the eighteenth century. Later other groups of Chinese Moslems sought refuge in the area as the aftermath of Moslem uprisings in the northwestern part of China proper. These are the Dungans (in Chinese transcription, T'ung-kan). Most of them were from Kansu Province, some from Ninghsia, others from Shensi.

So important is the religious factor in distinguishing between Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese that often they are considered as two distinct peoples. In Sheng Shih-ts'ai's classification the main body of Chinese are designated as "Han" and the Moslem Chinese as "Hui." The former number some 202,000, and the latter 92,000. The term "Hui" is short for "Hui-hui"; and, although it derives from a medieval transcription of the name of the Uighurs, it is applied to all Moslems. The term "Dungan," for the Chinese Moslems — used invariably by the Russians in Tsarist times, and also in the Soviet literature dealing with the small colonies of Moslem Chinese in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics — is of Turkic origin. Its meaning is obscure, but it may mean "the returners." This etymology is supported by the folk tradition that the Chinese Moslems are the descendants of mercenary troops who entered China from Inner Asia and later settled down and took Chinese wives. Thus when they were moved westward again, into Sinkiang, in the eighteenth century, they were said to be "returning" toward their ancient homes.

Like the main body of Chinese, those of Moslem faith are to be found in many cities of Sinkiang but chiefly in those in the northern part of the province. They are also important in the caravan trade, in the running of inns and caravanserais, and in the military forces. Some have also taken to the land.

Enjoying a virtual monopoly of the provincial administration, the non-Moslem Chinese have upheld the bureaucratic tradition of scholarship and learning. Apart from the official class, however, the Chinese in Sinkiang appear to be no less illiterate than those in the rest of China. Illiteracy is especially high among the

*563 631 212 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 562 779 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 779 186 668 [607] The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 578 186 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Uzbeg
Kazan Tatar

*563 197 174 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 648 101 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nominally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 161 361 101 871 *Tatars.* The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people. More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who settled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 174 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today comprises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family.

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

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175 formity of culture. In this period of political disunity and decentralization, the expansion of Islam continued to enhance the cultural uniformity of the oasis world.

175 The ascendancy of Islam among the religions of Inner Asia had
779 begun before the Mongol Empire and continued through that period and on into the time of political disintegration. The Arabs under Kutayba invaded Western Turkistan and perhaps reached Kashgar at the beginning of the eighth century.[11] By the middle of the tenth century — when Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, and other religions were still strong in the settled oases — Satuk Bughra Khan of the Khara-Khanid Turks, who were at that time in control of Kashgar and other oases, was converted to Islam.[12] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Inner Asian rulers who claimed imperial Mongol descent rapidly went over to the language and culture of the Turks and to the religion of Islam. In the meantime the conversion to Islam of the Uighur Turks of the Urumchi-Turfan region had been going on since the eleventh century, though Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity lingered until the sixteenth century.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the development of the institutions of Islam in Sinkiang made a long step forward with the arrival in Kashgar of the Khoja Makhtum Azyam, a learned theologian of Bokhara and a descendant of the Prophet.[13] He was granted land by the Khan of Kashgar, and from the later struggle for the control and revenue of this estate there developed a new mode of politics, that of the Khojas.

The two sons of the first Khoja founded rival sects which were at the same time political factions, that of the Ak Tagh or White Mountains and that of the Khara Tagh or Black Mountains. At

[11] See W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, translated from the original Russian [1900] and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, London, 2nd. ed., 1928, especially Chapter II.

[12] According to Barthold, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–255, this event must be regarded as a mixture of history and legend; but the rapid spread of Islam among the Inner Asian Turks at this time is beyond doubt.

[13] A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria: Eastern or Chinese Turkistan*. Translated from the Russian by Walter E. Gowan, Calcutta, 1882, p. 102.

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first the heirs of the Khoja line were attached to and patronized by the rulers of the greater oases, and received successive grants of land, both in what is now Sinkiang and in what later became Russian Turkistan. Eventually they themselves became rulers, but the combination of religious authority and secular rule did not put an end to the rivalry between the two sects and did not provide unity or continuity of rule.

Land was held both by the Khoja family and by mosques as corporate institutions. Some of the deeds granting land to the Khojas show that there were grants which conveyed titles and privileges in addition to the land. Grants to mosques were called *wakf*, and the *wakf*-lands gave rise to a special class of managers with rights and interests of their own (see Chapter V). Since the grants included rights over the serfs on the land, a clerical feudalism became established parallel to secular feudalism.[14]

In the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Manchus were gathering headway for their conquest of China from the east, the oases of southern Sinkiang passed completely under Khoja rule. In 1622 the leader of the White Mountain faction, Mullah Fazil, with the aid of the powerful Khojas of Khokand, captured Kashgar. Shortly thereafter Khoja Hidayat Ullah, also known as Hazrat Apak, whose shrine at Kashgar is still venerated, became the ruler of all the oases of the Tarim Basin. Though a Moslem "saint," he negotiated with the Dalai Lama at Lhasa and was alternately in alliance and at enmity with the Jungar Mongols of northern Sinkiang.[15] "His bearing exercised a marvellous effect on the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground,

[14] For Khoja land deeds granted at Yarkand in 1587, 1592, and 1602, and at Kucha in 1608, and collected by the nineteenth-century English traveler Shaw, see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Extra No., Calcutta, 1897, Vol. 66, part 1, pp. 2–3. For *wakf* deed in the Khoja period, see G. Raquette, *Eine Kaschgarische Wakf-Urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Türkestans*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., Avd. 1, Bd. 26, Nr. 2.

[15] Kuropatkin, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

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175 whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion
779 of spiritual love." [16]

We have some notes on the theocratic feudalism of the Khojas made by the Portuguese Jesuit Father Bento de Goes, who reached Yarkand, then the capital of the Kashgar kingdom, toward the end of 1603. In February, 1604, he described Yarkand as an emporium on the long overland route between China and Europe. The severity of Moslem rule was such that as soon as the Friday service was over, twelve men left the mosque with scourges to punish those who had not attended the service.

175 Both trade and mining were administered under the feudal
779 practice of granting privilege and monopoly. The right of or-
661 ganizing and leading a caravan was sold by the "king" to the highest bidder, who then became an "ambassador," with absolute authority over those traveling with the caravan. He recovered a part of his investment by selling positions under his authority to four associates, who also received the title of ambassador; another seventy-two privileged travelers also paid for their places in the caravan.

Similarly, the monopoly for exploiting the famous jade of Khotan was also for sale. "For a high price the king sells the quarrying rights to some merchants, without whose consent no one is allowed to take away any stone as long as the contract lasts." [17]

175 It was a little more than a century after their conquest of China
578 that the Manchus invaded Sinkiang in 1755. Their campaign was aimed at the Jungars or "East Wing" of the Western Mongols, called Kalmuks by the Turkish-speaking peoples of Inner Asia and by the Russians. The Jungars at this time had for decades, under a succession of military leaders, been fighting savagely among themselves, had been intermittently exercising overlordship in Tibet and over the oases of the Tarim Basin, and more recently had several times defeated the Northern Mongols or

[16] Ney Elias, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, pp. 6–7.
[17] C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 24–25 and 28.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

[p. 240]

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks.

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3]

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6]

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
[6] F. W. K. Mueller, *"Uigurica," Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyek*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

SN 563 668 233 deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

SN 563 181 In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the SN (668) Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

SN VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

563 181 153 The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances SN 563 153 577 the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered SN "bad" deeds.

563 153 ● 779 155 The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

SN
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
● 779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvor-
schrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book
for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the
condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the
code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concern-
ing the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From
childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered
in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which
everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do
show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is
rather justified.

SN
563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads
as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and
still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they
are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still
mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the
hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring
and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where
the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides
in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional
and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and
leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representa-
tive and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over
SN the universe.

563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus),
Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated
subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds
of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous
SN greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[821] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought
as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter
the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens,
the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat),
SN is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of
his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

THE FAMILY

S N 121 59 563 I. Introduction

Northwest China is heavily populated by national minorities. In the province of Sinkiang, the Chinese even form a minority group and the Turkic Moslems constitute the majority. Therefore, in a discussion of the family in this area, general statements applying to the population as a whole would not apply, but a distinction has to be made between several different ethnic elements.

For the purposes of the present section, the following rough division suggests itself: (a) Turkic sedentary Moslems; (b) Turkic nomadic Moslems; (c) the Dungans or Chinese Moslems; (d) the Tibetans; (e) the Mongours; (f) the Mongols, and (g) the Chinese. The last two groups are discussed in detail in their respective handbooks, the IMAR Handbook and the General Handbook of China.

S N 779 59 183 581 Among all Moslems Islam forms the ideal concept of the family. In Islamic society the institution of the family has always been one of primary importance. The family is considered the basic essential of human civilization. Having a family, and being a dutiful member of one, is not only regarded as necessary, but is expressly a religious obligation. Marriage, the step leading to the establishment of a family, is a sacred contract into which each Moslem must enter. A Moslem who, without just reason, does not marry and does [589] not establish a family, is considered almost as a heretic.

S N 59 182 [554] [589] The family's function is primarily for reproduction of the group and the continuation of the family. The institution of the family, furthermore, provides security and peace of mind for its members. The family man is respected and esteemed in Moslem society; he is considered honorable and trustworthy. An unmarried man is likely to be looked upon with some suspicion and distrust.

S N 59 779 183 Since the family plays such a significant role in Moslem society, there is great emphasis on its unity and closeness. This is probably best expressed in the following quotation from the Koran, "...and Allah has made wives for you from yourselves and has given you sons and daughters from your wives." This closeness resulting from the blood relationship is extended to all other phases of family life.

S N 593 S N [829] Love and compassion should underlie all the relationships within the family. In relations between a man and his wife, or wives, between one kin to another, love is stressed as the basis. A man's behavior within his family reflects his attitude toward society as a whole. If there is love in his heart for his family, he will also have compassion for others and be of service to society.

S N 592 593 In the family, the man's position is always superior to that of the woman, regardless of his age. The wife is, accordingly, put in an inferior position to that of her husband, being under his control completely. The head of the house holds unquestioned authority

S
N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S
N Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
595 religious person will not exceed four wives.

777 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
S loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
N man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
779 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were
829 carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S
A. Family Organization

121 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con-
592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has
S more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as
S such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
[562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

563 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing [582] of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

563 592 593 182 A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the [671] family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and [MM] head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage.

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

within the railings in the mosque and read the Koran, wear white or green turbans, the leader's turban being more elaborate, with a tassel hanging down the back. Common people wear pointed octagonal caps of white, red or black, the color distinguishing the sect to which they belong.

Some women dress differently from the Chinese women, and wear a sort of turban hat. Ordinarily their dresses are in dark colors, but they may wear gay colors for festivals. According to ancient custom they must veil their faces in the presence of men, but this custom was abandoned long ago.

In cities and towns where the Chinese Moslems dress exactly like the Han Chinese, the men can be distinguished by their physical build and features, but the women are not easily recognized.

d. Occupation

Most Chinese Moslems are business men and traders, and most of them also farm. As farmers they are not equal to the Han Chinese, but they excel in dealing with cattle and everywhere they monopolize the beef and sheep trade. They are also merchants, bakers, workers in jade, money changers, and inn and restaurant keepers.

Outside a Moslem-owned restaurant there hangs a sign displaying a water pot surmounted by a dress hat, and two Chinese characters, Hui-hui. The pot signifies ceremonial cleanliness and guarantees that no pork is used. The hat indicates respect to customers. There are also two Chinese characters on the tea pot, meaning "Pure and True."

Formerly their religion forebade the Moslems to become money-lenders, barbers, fortune-tellers, actors, or servants or apprentices to the Chinese. How strictly the people now observe this taboo is not known.

3. Social values

a. Group spirit

The we-feeling is very strong among the Dungans. The whole group will sacrifice time and money for an individual oppressed by outsiders, and fight for him until justice prevails. Endowed with a courageous nature, the Moslem man is willing to sacrifice his life for the welfare of the group.

This spirit is shown by overt expression in daily social relationships. The Chinese title Lao-piao (old cousin) is applied even to a stranger of the same religious faith. The word old signifies respect; cousin signifies blood relationship. Hence Lao-piao indicates a feeling of closeness toward all members of the faith. Another expression of this feeling is found in the saying that "every Moslem in the world belongs to the same family."

b. Concept of charity

Many of the values in Chinese Moslem society are based upon

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

S N 563 186 d. Racial superiority

The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

S N (798)

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

a. Religious rites

S N 563 799 782 According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

S N [793]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N [562]

S N 563 799 782 783 The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 796 785 779 [203] The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To

S N [788] arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

532 ruins situated near Kashgar and Yarkand.
172 Kucha is the site of many ancient works of sculpture and paintings dating back to the middle period of Central Asiatic art, which covers the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries.

Le Coq and Grünwedel uncovered many murals in the cave temples found in the vicinity of Kucha. The frescoes are characterized by the abundance of drama and motion. Buddha is the main subject of the frescoes, and many scenes from his life, in teaching, meditating and other poses, are portrayed. The other figures surrounding Buddha include the Bodhisattvas, worshippers, Brahmans, monks, dancers, musicians, servants and demons. They all display a great variety of features, figure, clothing, expression and pose. Muted browns, rust and flesh tones, accented with bright blue and green, form the basic color scheme of these frescoes.

(177) A blending of Indian, Iranian and late Hellenistic influences are evident in the style of the paintings and the decorative motifs employed.

The final stage of the pre-Islamic Buddhist culture in the area is represented in the collection found in Karashahr. It consists mostly of statues, some of them still preserving their original coat of paint. In these works of art we find the familiar figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and goddesses done in a style which is strongly influenced by the Hellenistic culture. However, here we begin to find dieties of distinctly oriental appearance and some very realistically drawn animals (horses and camels). These wall paintings are ascribed to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and strongly illustrate the intermingling of eastern and western civilizations. The features of the figures clearly demonstrate Far Eastern characteristics, and the stylistic devices indicate a strong Chinese influence. (Most of the information on this section comes from Alice Thorner's chapter on Central Asian Art, in Pivot of Asia.)

An important scene of artistic discoveries in Kansu is the Tunhuang oasis, known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which Sir Aurel Stein visited in 1907. In this oasis hundreds of cave-temples are found, some of them dating to the fourth century A.D. The place was jealously guarded by an illiterate Taoist priest, who allowed Sir Aurel Stein to visit the caves only after a great deal of persuasion. Stein found thousands of paper scrolls, a large number of books in fragments and many paintings on silk and cotton in these caves. Most of the works of art (177) were Buddhist in character, and had a pronounced Chinese influence. A small percentage included Taoist and non-religious documents and works of art.

532 The conversion of the Turkic people of Sinkiang to Islam had
• 779 tremendous repercussions on the artistic expression of the
197

532 region. A new type of art was introduced and adopted by the
979 people, and it dominates to this day. The set patterns of Islamic
[799] decorative arts and articrafts were transmitted to the Eastern Turki from the Islamic centers of civilization by way of Persia. Sinkiang, however, has not achieved so much in these fields of arts and crafts as did other Moslem countries, such as Persia and Turkey.

531 As statues and mural paintings of religious character are
532 strictly forbidden by the Moslem religion, the artistic expres-
979 sion is to be found mainly in the field of ornamentation. The decorative art is employed both in religious and secular objects—the walls of mosques as well as those of private houses; books, both secular and religious, and objects of daily use—are all elaborately ornamented in similar patterns. We find the same patterns of ornamental designs in mosque walls, in the beautifully woven rugs, in silk, embroidery works, brocaded caps, books, wood carving, leather and metal works. The most common patterns are geometric and floral ones. The use of human and animal figures is prohibited by the Koran, but the tradition allows their use in secular objects. The prohibition of the Koran is strictly observed in the decoration of mosques, Korans and other religious objects, but the rule is often discarded in other cases.

The most common motif in Islamic decorative art is the arabesque. The arabesque is an ornament composed of gracefully curving scrolls, crossed or interlaced and bearing stylized motifs suggesting a leaf or a flower. Besides the arabesque we find in Islamic art the representation of plants and filated and floral scrolls. The geometrical ornament is widespread in its use also, either by itself or in combination with arabesques or floral scrolls. Circles, lozenges, crosses, triangles, wavy bands and lines, form the simplest motifs of this kind of ornamentation.

531 Of special interest is the use of calligraphy as ornamenta-
212 tion. Arabic writing, in both the Kufic and Naskhi styles, plays
979 a very important role in Islamic ornamentation. The highly decorative characters are often elaborately intertwined with scrolls and sometimes terminate in palmettes. This art of calligraphy was cultivated from the earliest times of Islam. The formal style, the Kufic, is characterized by the angular letters, while the second style, the Naskhi, is a cursive style with rounded letters. The work of calligraphy is often ably complemented by that of the book binders. The leather used to cover [213] books is looted or stamped with gold, with the designs as described above, the decoration being on both the inside and the outside of the cover.

000 Khotan is the most famous of the cities in Sinkiang in the

N 795 D. The Sects of Islam

The two major sects of Islam are the Sunna and the Shi'a. Both of these camps are divided internally into numerous subsects, a discussion of which will not be included in this chapter.

N 795 798 The schism between the Sunna and Shi'a occurred first on the political question of the legitimate succession to Muhammad's leadership in the Islamic world. The Sunnis claimed that the Caliphs were the legitimate heads of the Islamic community. The Shi'a followers repudiated the first three Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar and Uthman, as usurpers, and declared Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, to be the true successor, and his house to be the only source for the selection of future Caliphs.

The Shi'a sect seceded on a purely political basis, but it also began to develop its own characteristics in matters relating to religious doctrine. It spread widely in Persia and Iraq and assimilated a great amount of the esoteric non-Moslem doctrines which prevailed among the newly converted Moslems.

N 779 795 798 In particular, a special doctrine concerning the nature of political leadership of Islam divides the Sunnis and the Shi'is. The Shi'is attribute to the Imam (the political leader) a spiritual function which the orthodox Sunni theologians never granted to their Caliphs. This doctrine of the Imamate gradually crystallized into definite theological form. The Imams acquired a superhuman character and their decisions on both political and theological questions are not to be contested.

N 795 The mystical movement in Islam, Sufism, found followers in both camps, and is popular mainly among the masses of the people.

S 563 795 E. The Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang

The majority of the population of Sinkiang is Moslem by religion. The Moslems include the Eastern Turkis, the Kirghiz and Kazakh nomadic tribes, a small number of Chinese Moslems and a few Afghans, Indians and Tajiks, most of whom reside only temporarily in Sinkiang.

The Turks of Sinkiang are Sunnis of the Hanefite School. Unlike the Chinese Moslems, they have maintained close ties with the rest of the Moslem world. The idea of the cohesiveness of all believers is very strong in Islam. The Turks of Sinkiang not only feel strong national ties with their Turkic brothers in Western Turkestan, but they also consider themselves an integral part of the Moslem world community. In the past they recognized as the chief of all believers (emir el mu'minin) the Khan of Bukhara, and they looked to the Sultan of Constantinople as the political leader of Islam.

S 779 Sinkiang can be called a Moslem country, but it has features which are peculiar to it, and which have greatly changed the

/Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang/

779 character of Islam. In Sinkiang, Islam has been affected by two major factors. The first one is that Islam has been superimposed over a civilization which contained Shamanist, Buddhist, Manichaeanist and Nestorian elements. Many Buddhist traditions have not been erased completely by Islamic beliefs. These traditions have been incorporated into Islam, although totally foreign to it, and they have acquired a superficial Moslem character.

779 777 The second fact that had considerable influence upon the development of Islam in Sinkiang is that the country is under Chinese administration. As already explained, Islam is not merely a religious faith, but it encompasses many aspects of the entire way of life of the Moslems. As a result of Chinese administration, all those functions of Islam that are not concerned with the articles of faith and strictly religious rites, have been taken [671] over by the Chinese. The law of the country is the Chinese secular law, and not the Moslem religious one. The courts of law [892] are administered by Chinese civil servants rather than by the Moslem Qazis (judges).

779 794 563 The Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang are not very strict in their observance of religious practices. There is only a small number of people (mainly Kirghiz) who perform the ablutions and say the prayers regularly, pay the Zakat to the mosque, medresses (mosque schools) and the poor, wear a turban and abstain from smoking and drinking. The majority of the people (this applies to the East Turki as a whole) do not perform the ablutions nor prayers. Except on holidays there are very few people in the mosque during the services. The people do not give the required Zakat, and they smoke tobacco and even opium. Though they are quite strict about not eating pork, they do not abstain from drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages. Few of the women veil themselves in public, and they go unsupervised in the market places. The Sunni Turki in Sinkiang have no scruples about letting their daughters marry the Balti Shi'is (most other Sunni Moslems consider it a great offense). The people as a whole are very poorly instructed in the matters of religion. Most know the fatihat sura (the opening chapter of the Koran), but few know more. Holidays are more strictly observed than are other rites. [796] Though Ramadan imposes rigid restrictions during the daytime, at night the Moslems of Sinkiang compensate festively for their daily sacrifices. Id-el-Fitr, the Moslem New Year celebration in the tenth month, is one of the most joyful and colorful holidays in Sinkiang. The people attire themselves in new clothes, attend the special services in the mosques, greet each other, visit friends and attend feasts.

795 796 798 As Grenard points out, the cult of Imams and other Moslem saints which is an integral part of Islam in Sinkiang, goes back

563 mutton fat they bake a type of bread resembling a doughnut. The
262 best-liked meat is horsemeat, but it is a dish only for the well-to-do. The daily menu comprises boiled and roasted mutton, with rice, if any is available, milk, cheese made from yaks' and sheep's cream, and small fried pieces of mutton. The main drink
[273] is kumis. It is prepared from mares' milk by shaking it in a leather bottle and then leaving it to ferment.

563 Both the sedentary and nomadic Turks of Sinkiang are bound
262 by Moslem dietary laws, which generally are strictly observed.
779 The Koran expressly prohibits eating four things: (1) the animal which dies of itself, including "the strangled animal, and that beaten to death and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn and that which the beasts have eaten", (2) the blood of slaughtered animals, (3) the flesh of a swine, and (4) an animal which has not been slaughtered by a Moslem according to the prescribed rules in the Koran and over which the name of Allah has not been invoked. The drinking of alcohol, except
[273] for medicinal purposes, is also prohibited by the Koran. However,
[369] the Moslems of Sinkiang, particularly the city-dwellers, drink frequently.

Moderation in eating is recommended by the Koran in the following passage: "...Eat and drink and be not immoderate!" (7:31). But abstention from foods allowed by the Koran is discouraged: "O people! Eat the lawful and good things of what is in the earth!" (2: 168) Moslems are warned both against undereating and overeating as, for example, can be seen in the following directive: "O you who believe! Forbid not yourselves the good things which Allah has made lawful for you and exceed not the limits." (5:87)

Except for things prohibited in the Koran, the Eastern Turks enjoy most food. They eat a fairly well-balanced diet containing some meat, vegetables, fruits, and starches. Starches, however, far exceed the other food items. The most noticeable deficiency in diet is the lack of food containing iodine. They do not have access to much sea food, being so far inland.

B. Turkic Concepts of Disease

753 In Eastern Turkestan the cause of disease is attributed both
779 to God and to the evil spirits, called "jins". According to Moslem
[784] belief, disease is often a result of disobeying God's laws and directives. God's penalties for disobedience and his way of testing the True Believers take the forms of inflicting epidemics on the population. Man can avoid misfortune by being obedient and by putting his trust completely in God. The Headith (Moslem Tradition) reports that when the Prophet was asked about the Plague, he said that it was an infliction which Allah imposed upon anyone, but that he made it an occasion for the exercise of his compassion towards

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753 Moslems. No servant of Allah who was in a plague stricken city
779 ought to depart from it. He must remain steadfast, counting upon God and knowing that nothing will happen except what Allah has ascribed for him. If anything should befall him, he would earn the reward of martyrdom in the future world. The Prophet declared that contagious diseases, such as cholera and the plague, had no reality independently of Allah.

753 Older pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among the people of East-
776 ern Turkestan attribute the source and cause of diseases and death
754 to evil spirits, which they call "jins", and which inhabit the body after the evil eye has been cast upon a person. Belief in the evil eye is extremely strong among the women. Skrine recorded some of the superstitions about the cause of disease and death: "If a woman feels liverish, she at once concludes that she has been bewitched, and goes to the du'a-khwan (witch-doctor).... There
754 are several death-spells in use. If a woman wishes her husband to die, she washes her head on seven successive Wednesday mornings; another method is to wear two caps, one on top of the other, for seven weeks. Similarly, a man puts a death-spell on his wife by combing his beard with two combs. In most countries where sitchcraft and the evil-eye are believed in, the victim's hairs, nail-parings, etc., are peculiarly valuable to the enemy who wished to cast a spell upon him. In Chinese Turkestan, by a curious extension of this idea, this potency attaches also to the kafsh-inassi or slippers which are worn over the long boots when outside and are removed on entering a house. If an enemy's slippers are found lying neatly together outside the room in which he sits, they are turned upside down or placed one on top of the other. If an enemy's death is desired the slippers are taken up and thrown down haphazardly.... A widely prevalent idea is that the death of a person affects the health of his or her surviving relatives." (Skrine, C.P., Chinese Central Asia, pp. 187-88).

Aside from these beliefs, the common people are unaware of
753 the modern, scientific explanations of the causes of disease and death. Only those who attend government schools (as opposed to the Moslem religious schools) are likely to learn some facts about human physiology and the existence of disease-carrying germs.

1. Sanitary measures included in the Moslem religion

779 The Moslem religious code, however, provides its own sani-
515 tary measures that are closely observed by the population. Most of these rules concern the cleanliness of the body, both for the purification of the soul, and for the sake of health. A Moslem is required to take a partial ablution before each of the five daily prayers. The partial ablution (wudzu) consists first of washing the hands up to the wrists, cleaning the mouth with water, washing the whole face from the forehead to the chin and from one ear to the other, wiping the head with wet hands and washing the feet

779 up to the ankles. A special provision is made for those to whom
515 water is not available because of their being on a journey or being sick, etc..."and if you are sick or on a journey or one of you came from the privy, or you have touched the women, and you cannot find water, betake yourselves to pure earth and wipe your faces and hands therewith."(5:6) A complete ablution of the body is required when the body has been soiled to a greater extent. Though not always strictly observed, these religious habits are followed quite closely by the majority of the population.

2. The predominant diseases in Sinkiang

164 The predominant diseases in Eastern Turkestan which were recorded by Grenard and Pevtsov are the following: goiters, syphillis, gonorrhea, smallpox, scabies, tuberculosis, the Baghdad boil (a disease brought over from the Middle East), rheumatism, often connected with the effects of venereal diseases, trachoma and other eye illnesses, dental troubles, inflammation of the joints, malaria and some cases of leprosy. Skin diseases are very common among the population. The Eastern Turks
[515] seldom change their clothing, including their underclothes, and their fur hats are hardly ever taken off. This often results in the growth of parasitic vermin. The excessive dust and dirt are very conducive to the spread of skin diseases. Unfortunately, no figures are avilable on the incidence of different diseases. Most feared are the epidemic diseases which spread rapidly and the incurable diseases, like leprosy. There is a popular proverb in
[539] Eastern Turkestan that says the following: "Flee from the leprous as you would from a lion."

3. The local doctors

759 The two most popular types of doctors in Eastern Turkestan
756 are those who practice Arabic medicine, and those who practice witchcraft. Arabic medical science is fairly well developed and includes some knowledge of human physiology, methods of curing certain diseases and even some surgical techniques. Most of the mosques have hospitals attached to them for the care of the ill and the injured. However, the knowledge of those doctors practicing Arabic medicine in Eastern Turkestan is quite limited. There has been no great progress in their methods since the 11th and 12th centuries. According to C.P. Skrine, the witch doctors are much more popular than the Islamic doctors. The witch doctors are called bakhshis in Yarkand and du'a-khwans or jadugars in Kashgar. The fees of the witch doctors are relatively high, and the more famous of them are very well-off. In return for their fees they compose spells and perform incantations to drive away the demons which possess the patient.

/Turks of Sinkiang/

668 Suppression of external expression of nationalism appears to be an acceptance of the present regime, but it certainly is not to be regarded as constituting the fulfillment of the national dreams of the Turkic people in Sinkiang. The great number of Eastern [167] Turki refugees from Sinkiang testify to the fact that they consider the new regime as much more oppressive than the former Nationalist administration. During the former Chinese Imperial and Republican rule of Sinkiang, no similar mass flight of Turks occurred. The number of refugees alone indicates deep discontent.

563 578 669 186 C. The Traditional Animosity between the Turks and Chinese

The animosity of the Turks to the Chinese is one of the traditional attitudes which became evident in the many Moslem rebellions against the Chinese administration in Sinkiang. The Turks regard the Chinese not only as their oppressors (Turk: gaddar) but also as infidels (Turk: kafir), who have not received the true knowledge about God. While being politically and militarily stronger and superior to the Turks, the Chinese are regarded as inferior by the Turks in culture and faith. Loyalty to the Chinese regime is not strong and is maintained by force and political pressure. We have seen the Moslem reaction to Chinese rule in the past - during the 1860's and the 1930's when large-scale rebellions took place against the existing regime. One may even take into consideration [648] the events that took place in Western Turkestan during World War II. Many of the Western Turkestanian battalions which constituted a part of the Red Army defected to the German Army. They later were organized into special units and joined the fighting against Soviet Russia. At the present, the occurrence of such an event seems unlikely in Sinkiang, and there has been no indication of an organized large-scale rebellion, or any spirited attempts to oppose the existing regime. It is likely, however, that it would be extremely difficult to trust the Turks fully as Chinese patriots. They could not be used effectively as soldiers, since their true loyalty lies with Turkic nationalism in an Islamic framework.

121 779 D. The Conflict of Islamic and Communist Ideologies

Before considering Islam in relation to other ideologies it is necessary to remember that Islam is not to be regarded as a religion only, but also as a social and political philosophy, forming a set pattern for the religious, social and political living of all Moslems. Any political ideology which attempts to enter the domain os Islam has not only to cope with a religious doctrine, but to compete with the ideas of Islam in the realm of politics.

Another important basic conception to keep in mind is the division of the world in Islam into two domains, the first of which is constituted of the believers, who have submitted to Islam - Dar

/Turks of Sinkiang/

121 al-Islam (The Realm of Islam), and the second constituted of those
779 who have not received the word of Allah and Muhammed and fall in the non-believers category Dar al-Harb (The Realm of War). It is expressed duty for all Moslems to try and extend the domain of Islam (by means including the holy war), until it encompasses all of the domain of war. A new ideology would not be considered only as competing with Islamic ideology but also considered as being totally unacceptable, since it is a product of the domain of war. These basic concepts, which have often proved to be
[668] barriers in the progress of Islamic civilization, also set strong obstacles in the way of the spread of Communist ideology, or its acceptance.

779 There are other barriers in the way of Communism which are
668 set forth in the principles of the Koran and Sunna, forming the
177 foundations of the Moslem religion. The first of these is the principle of the unity of God "There is no God but Allah." This article of faith has been the rallying point of all Moslems. Communism strongly rejects not only the concept of the unity of God, but the whole concept of God itself, leaving no place for such a supernatural entity. The second important principle of Islam is that of recognition of Muhammed as the Prophet of God (Turk: Peygamber al-Allah), the last and the greatest of God's messengers, which, of course, finds no equivalent in Communism. Nor does the third principle of the acceptance of the Koran as the revealed word of Allah transmitted by his prophet receive acknowledgement in Communist doctrine. Other principles of Islam, including life after death, divine justice with rewards for the righteous and punishment for the sinners, are strongly rejected by Communist ideology as having no valid basis. Communism does have its creeds and beliefs, but there is no correspondence between them and those of the Islamic religion (see section Religion).

While the ideologies of Communism and Islam could never be reconciled, the Communist practice has been that of allowing a place for some religion in its midst. Particularly interested in gaining the favors of the Moslem World, the Communist official policy toward the adherents of Islam both in China and in the Soviet Union has been one of tolerance. Eventually, however, if the Communists aspire to win the complete allegiance of their Moslem citizens, they will, by force or through indoctrination, have to substitute Communist principles for those of Islam. The two doctrines cover too much of the same ground, and because of their incompatibility could not possibly survive together.

648 E. Attitude toward Foreigners
177 The foreigners in Sinkiang are not as varied an international crowd as those inhabiting the coastal cities of China. Because of

177 inflict upon itself.
178 The desire for political change is, on the other hand, quite
[668] unanimous and finds expression in the nationalist movement, which aspires to throw the Chinese out of Sinkiang and set up a Turkic government. The only ones who welcome the existing rule are the Turks with positions in the party who have a vested interest in the present regime.

177 The wish for economic and technological change, while in
178 general looked upon with favor, is opposed by those who have
668 vested interests in the present system. The small artisans (Turk: zanaatkar ve el iscisiler) and handicraftsmen are likely to lose their livelihood with the coming of such changes. The social changes imposed on the population by the Communist regime, pave the way for the introduction of economic and technological changes. While industries threaten the existence of the small artisans, handicraftsmen, and merchants, the collective state farms, using new agricultural machinery and techniques, would threaten the existence of the small farmer, who could never afford such renovations, and is not encouraged by the present regime to own his land and equipment.

181 I. War and Peace Concepts

The Moslems are known in China for their courage in battles and their rebellious spirit. They are known to make good soldiers, when fighting for a cause they believe in. Their skill and talent in way enjoys a reputation as being superior to that of the Chinese.

181 The Turks have inherited their tradition of war and their
721 fighting spirit from their nomadic ancestors, descendants of the great Turkic empires in Central Asia. War is not only a Turkic
779 tradition, but a strong conception of war is also included in the Moslem religion. One of the five primary duties of a Moslem is to go on a Holy War (Jihad) and to fight in the name of Allah against the non-believers. This tradition stems from the early days of Islam during Mohammed's attempts to overcome his opponents, and it was particularly stressed during the days of the Moslem political and religious expansion. A Holy War today still is an important tool for rallying the believers of Islam to war, although its effectiveness cannot be compared with the times of the past.

While the duty of war is impressed on the believer against the domain of war, peace is the order in the domain of Islam among all the believers. 'Peace, in Turkic 'baris', has the connotation of giving each other shelter. It is important to keep in mind that while the Turks in Sinkiang could quite easily be rallied to war under an Islamic flag, fighting side by side with the Chinese is a totally different matter. The emotional cause and motivation, and the feeling of loyalty which constitute the important elements of the morale of any army, would be completely lacking there,

181 721 and the Turkis are likely to make untrustworthy soldiers.
• 799

J. Material Concepts

556 183 One of the most important standards according to which an individual's place in society was measured in Sinkiang was the extent of his wealth (Türk: zenginlik). The wealthy merchants [565] and landowners for centuries occupied the leading positions in society, while those who lacked property, the poor and the beggars, were at the bottom of the social ladder. Wealth was considered as a sign of God's blessings (Türk: Allahin nimetleri) and of the individual's earthly wisdom. A man of property commanded political power as well as an important position in society, while a man who had been reduced to poverty lost all his prestige. Poverty was considered a disaster, as the following folk song [735] [539] indicates:

"My horse is gone from before me,
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this be my native land.
Poverty is come upon me."

(C.P. Skrine, Chinese Central Asia, p. 208)

556 668 177 [565] From the Communist propaganda, it seems their intention is to eliminate the wealthy classes. It is difficult to tell how many of the leading property owners have become influential under the present regime as "Communist" leaders, and how many have been truly eliminated. If Communist doctrines are truly pursued, a new attitude in regard to property, will have to be developed. The association of property with the individual will cease, since the property will be transferred to the ownership of the state. We have indications that such a transformation has not fully occurred. The leadership of the Moslem community, however, has been transferred from its wealthy members to the party officials. An individual cannot aspire any more for advancement in terms of gathering more property, but only in terms of becoming an important party member.

815 668 177 As regards science (Türk : bilgi, verb. 'knowledge', the term is as old as recorded Türkic history) there was not much of it p prior to the Communist revolution. The only type of knowledge prevalent among the population was the knowledge of religion, of Islam, and the scholars of the Turkic community were its Islamic scholars, and not those versed in secular education. However, with the dependence of the new regime on the new regime of science and scientific achievements (sometimes the term science corresponds to what we mean by it, and often it is used to embrace much more), a new emphasis has been put on the sciences. There are very few among the Türkic people in Sinkiang who are familiar with any of the sciences, and therefore there still is no basic attitude or reaction to the world of science. It is regarded with mixed curiosity, admiration and fear. The term "science"

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175 the land flanking the Tian Shan, notably in Urumchi, Turfan, and Hami.

• [179] The Kumuliks demonstrate the strange instance of a people who have completely abandoned Buddhism to embrace Islam. Marco Polo, in the fourteenth century, spoke of them as 'idolaters,' but at the present time they are uncompromising Mohammedans. During the years of the Mohammedan insurrection, Hami was reduced to ruins, and later was used as a base by the Chinese armies which came up to quell the rebellion. As late as 1875 a Russian traveller refers to the town as lying in ruins and serving as an encampment for Chinese troops.

Hami has been called the 'Key of Dzungaria'—that great tract of land stretching to the border of southern Siberia, which has played so important a part in the history of Asian occupation.

563 From Hami onwards we met men of so many tribes and nations as to make us realise how little we had hitherto known of the peoples of this vast continent. There were Chinese, Tungan, Turki, Mongolian, Kalmuk, Qazaq, Kirghiz, Nogai, Manchurian and Russian.

Of Chinese, we met men and women from all the eighteen provinces, including officials, soldiers, tradesmen, colonists and fortune-seekers. There were also many prodigals and outlaws who dare not again pass the portals of Kiayükwan. Apart from these were the residents of the second and third generation, many of whom, doubtless, are descendants of those who, from all ranks of society, have in past years been condemned [647] to life-exile from China. We were much impressed by the capacity of the Chinese for colonisation, for though the conquerors of Turkestan, and thus holding all important governmental and military posts, they are acceptable to the populace. Moreover, they show a great aptitude for accommodating themselves to the

[inhabitants of Hami--Analyst]

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conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity.

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.[1]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying:

'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt,

[1] This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.

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563 but is not so quick to draw it as is the Turki, whose hand flies to the boot where his knife is concealed, as soon as there is word of a quarrel. He is a Buddhist, and shows small signs of progress, in contrast with the Islamic nomad tribes.

On close acquaintance the Kalmuk can be distinguished from other Mongol tribes. His home is in Karashahr, Ili, and in the Altai Mountains, and he is not infrequently met with in the streets of Urumchi.

The Qazaq, called by the Chinese 'Hasa,' is a Moslem [291] nomad. He is never seen on foot, and wears a distinctive cap and high heels to his top-boots. We passed through Qazaqistan on our way to Russia, and shall have more to say later of this most interesting people. The Russians call them the 'Kirghiz'—a name which they have probably bestowed in order to distinguish from 'Cossack,' with which people the Qazaq has no connection. The Cossack proper is a Russian subject, who under the Tsarist system was endowed with special privileges, in return for which he was bound to give military service under definite conditions.

Occasionally we met with a whole family of fellow-travellers, so European in type, style, and manner as would have caused us no surprise had they addressed us in German, Italian, or Russian, instead of Turki. [291] The men often wore Crimean whiskers, and the dress of the women and children came very near the Western, though all, even small children, wore top-boots. Their complexion was fair and their features refined and handsome in type. These were the 'Nogai,' whose name is taken from that of a Crimean Tartar leader of the thirteenth century. He led a victorious Mongol army into Europe, and brought back with him a large [779] number of Christian prisoners. The Nogai are a Moslem people.

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Perhaps the most interesting *rencontre* of any was with Manchurians from Kulja in Ili. They owe their territory to the Emperor Chien Lung, who, in the course of the campaign he conducted on the North-West frontier of China in the eighteenth century, gave grants of land as rewards for faithful service to loyal soldiers. The Manchurian language is thus still spoken in Ili, although it has vanished from Manchuria, and copies of the Scriptures transcribed into that language by George Borrow for the British and Foriegn Bible Society, and which had lain useless (as it was reckoned to be a dead language), at last found their way through Mr. Hunter into the hands of the people who were able to read them. These are the descendants of the 'Solon' and 'Sibo' referred to in the chronicles of Chien Lung as the troops who were rewarded for their faithfulness, with land in the new colony. Thus, remnants of each of the races which have successively held Dzungaria are still to be found within its borders.

In the beginning of the Christian era the Huns held supremacy in Central Asia, and in the thirteenth century the marauding tribes from Mongolia burst all barriers and carried the Mongol Empire from the Yellow River to the Danube. At this time Nestorian Christianity had considerable hold in Asia, and under Kublai and Jenghiz Khan the Franciscan missionaries were welcome and given facilities to carry on their work, but with the destruction of the Mongol Empire owing to the incessant attacks of the Chinese, Christianity declined, and, under the Chinese policy of isolation, the missionaries were expelled, while the converts, having no Scriptures in their own language, and being dependent upon tradition for the understanding of the faith they professed, became submerged by heathen practices and gradually disappeared. On the other

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hand, Islamism, which had been temporarily repulsed by the Mongols, again closed in, so that Turkestan became one of the strongholds of the Moslem faith.

The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the peoples of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. 'The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*.'

The situation is pregnant with spiritual possibilities, for the old and the new are struggling fiercely, and that struggle will result in anarchy and lawlessness, unless the hearts of men be captured and re-created by the Christ Who alone makes men free.

The Church Militant is represented in the territory stretching from Suchow to Siberia by *one* Mission Station occupied by *two* men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TRAVELLING IN THE 'GREAT HEAT'

THE trying season known to the Chinese as Ta Shu—'Great Heat'—was upon us. Hami was indeed hot, and Mr. Hunter warned us that not until we reached the other side of the Tian Shan could we hope for any alleviation. From Hami two main trade-routes, known as the Nan Lu—'South Road'—and Peh Lu—'North Road'—run in the respective directions their names

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tables were finer even than those of Hami. One street was given up to the furriers, who worked in rather showy but inferior skins, the best quality not finding its way to Kucheng. Another street held the silversmiths, while here and there a photographer or watchmaker advertised himself as being the branch shop of a Peking firm. The whole business quarter was gay and prosperous, but the Turki shops were fewer in number and inferior to the Chinese. The importance of Kucheng lies in the fact that it is situated at the terminus of the great desert trade-route to Peking, which passes by the Yellow River to Paotowchen and Kweihwating. These two important marts of North Shansi are 1500 miles from Kucheng, and the camel caravans habitually travel to and fro carrying the highly-prized bazaar wares over the desert. In normal times the camels are always on the move, though they may take from three to six months to accomplish the journey, but at the time of our visit this route was closed owing to the activity of the War Lords. We were told that whereas before 1914 the British and German goods were the most highly valued on the market, at the present time Russian and Japanese wares had superseded them. It was interesting to find, however, that the Moslem woman's veil which we desired to buy bore a stamp in the corner: 'Made in Manchester.' We stayed in a Mohammedan inn, where we had the immediate *entrée* to the women's quarters, in which our landlord's wives lived in seclusion. The family was very strict in its observance of Islamic rites, and five times a day the prayer-hour was observed. Every morning before sunrise and at evening twilight a long and elaborate liturgy was recited by the head of the house. The purifications which preceded the prayer entailed a washing of face, hands, arms and feet in running water.

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Where a stream is not accessible, the water is poured from the purification pot. Many were the prostrations and different attitudes taken by the worshipper as he lifted his hands to the back of his ears, then bowed, rose, and bowed again towards Mecca. In the evening the children were all gathered together for the reading of the Koran and the study of Arabic, and, incidentally, to learn how superior were the followers of the Prophet to the rest of mankind.

Our first caller was a Military Official who had become a Christian during his stay at Urumchi. His visit was followed by the arrival of servants carrying trays of the best food the restaurants of Kucheng could produce. Piled up on brazen plates was the Turki national dish of 'pillau.' It was composed of rice steamed and fried, and flavoured with chopped mutton, carrots and onions, sultanas and spices, and laid on the top were joints of roast fowl. This was accompanied by large, thin, flat cakes of bread and plates of fruit, while more servants followed with fodder and grain for our mules. Later on this gentleman's mother called and asked us to her house, where she most kindly entertained us. The food supply of Kucheng was so good that during the length of our stay we were able to luxuriate in milk, fruit, fresh bread, and good mutton.

Our next visitors were the band of Shansi men with whom we had become so friendly *en route*. It was difficult to recognise in the well-dressed gentleman who sent in his card the pedestrian traveller who had carried his own bundle and water can. They were most eager to know if Kucheng reached the expectations formed from their descriptions of its glories. Here, as elsewhere, we found no difficulty of access to the homes of both Chinese and Turki, and we never went out without receiving cordial invitations to visit well-off families in their comfortable houses.